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San Tsu	Tou-fu San Kuan	Wu-shang-hui
Hsi-tao wu-shang	Shih-erh Shang-ping /The twelve wounded soldiers/	P'in-pu-chi
Hao Kung-Chi /The good cock/	Shih-wu Shang Kung-chi /The fifteen injured cocks/	Shang-yüan-p'ou-hsiang
Chung-yüan Lo-p'a	Hsia-yüan Lo-p'a	Shih Kung-tsao /The four clerical officers/
Chao Shuai /General Chao/	Ma Shuai /General Ma/	Teng Shuai /General Teng/

776 As to which gods belong to the military group and which ones to the civilian group, I do not know. Each god seems to preside over a particular business. Their different duties are clearly divided.
● [532] Hence during the tso-chai ceremony, they only hung up ten or more pictures of gods who are in charge of the business of this particular ceremony. Because the pictorial representation and the duties of each god differ, the texts for each also are different. To save space in this book, I have merely copied the text of the Chiu-niang /the ninth lady/ section which is as follows:

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You, drummer, beat the drum of yang-shou;
Beat again the drum of chao-yang.
Hearing the tunes of the drum turned to yang,
Chiu-niang, highly praised, dismounted from her horse.
This morning you were in the temple of Fa-t'an.
The kung-tsao officer was ordered to bring you the invitation.
After you received the invitation from the kung-tsao,
The precious horses were prepared for you to go to the place of ceremony.
You dismounted in front of the altar,
And were welcomed to the ceremony, enjoying the burning incense.

1: Wang--63a S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (1)

The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (1)

(The black part is raised, the white recessed.)

The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (2)

/64/

532 The other one is inscribed on four sides of the seal with the symbol of a man, a dog, a dragon (?), and a pheonix (?) respectively. It is very interesting that the second seal is entirely different from the first one. (See illustration).

796 793 /65/Usually whenever a ceremony is performed both the civilian and military Taoist priests are present. This was the case in both the tso-chai and the chung-jen chai ceremonies that I personally observed.

793 The Taoist priesthood is open only to men. A man who intends to be a Taoist priest must undergo a kind of Taoist initiation ceremony, one of which I once attended. It took place at the time of a tso-chai ceremony. As to whether they also have a particular ceremony for initiation at a fixed time and place, I do not know. The initiation rites of the civilian and military groups were conducted in much the same manner.

The manner in which a military priest was initiated was as follows: The candiate wearing a red Taoist robe were seated on a red rug (each priest has a red rug) in front of the altar. A piece of thin paper was put on his head. A picture of a god was fastened with red strings hung from his forehead. A group of old (referring to rank regardless of age) Taoist priests chanted and walked around him. Periodically at every stop of the chanting, they all kneeled down, tearing apart the thin paper on his head, after which they again walked around him. This was done three times. A pause in the ceremony was now announced.

After a short time the candidate was led into an open yard by the old priests and followed by other priests playing gongs and drums. While they were proceeding to the yard, the oldest /i.e. leading/ priest put a grass rug on the ground on which he turned several somersaults. In the yard the candiate was seated in front of a wooden platform. The old priests then took turns in going up the platform upon which they chanted and danced. When the chanting was over, a large net made of tree bark was spread out. The candidate was thrown into it and was lifted up and turned around

1: Wang--64a S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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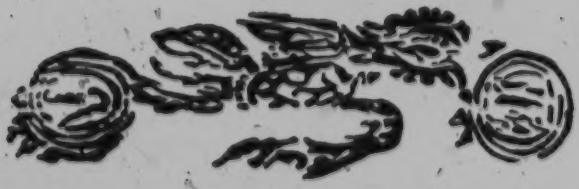
The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (2)

(b)

(a)

(c)



(d)

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

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2: Ling & Ruey--269 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Illus. 75. Images of Duke No
and Mother No.

/188 cont./

#782 heavenly shen coming down to earth. After this, he jumps
[533] down from the table and sings out what he has seen in the No hall. He then asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. After singing a passage, he strikes the gong and drum several times, walks a few steps, and then conveys the No child into the embrace of the host, and continues singing about the origin of the fairy sister. After the singing, the host puts down the image of the No child on the bed, and the caretaker of the altar burns paper money. Then the farewell incantation to the shen is sung, after which the gong and the drum are struck and the ritual terminates.

The nineteenth part is Pan K'ai-shan /"impersonating Kai-shan"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red headkerchief and
[532] a K'ai-shan mask, which has red whiskers and heavy eyebrows. Holding a wooden axe in his hand, he walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, dancing with hands and feet. First he sings about what he has seen en route to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. Next he asks to see the host to sing a passage of lucky words, after which he begins a conversation with the host, performing at the same
[529] time. The conversation has no definite subject but is full of humor.

The twentieth part is Pan Suan-chiang /"impersonating Suan-chiang"/. The sorcerer with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding a cane and a spear, walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, while singing out the reasons for his going to the No hall and what he saw there. He asks to see the host and sings a passage of auspicious words and has a conversation with him, at the same time performing. After this the host withdraws. Another person dressed as K'ai-shan /name of a general/ engages in a conversation with Suan-chiang /also a general/, and performs. After this, they engage in a duel. K'ai-shan wins and Suan-chiang loses. But K'ai-shan withdraws first. Suan-chiang sings the farewell incantation to the shen, and the ritual ends.

/191 cont./

*782 heavy, it may be placed on a stool). The sorcerer, waving the ritual knife in his right hand, sings the magic words of Shao Yüan. After he has sung a long passage, the helpers put the basket on the ground. The sorcerer leads the host outdoors in front of the hsi-kung and utters the incantation to pledge the opponents in wine. After the incantation the sorcerer takes the two cups of wine in the basket held by the host and pours the wine on the ground, and puts the cups upside down in the basket. He then returns with the host in front of the Peach Spring cave, and squats on the ground. The host puts down the small winnowing basket, holds the prayer box in both hands, and kneels in front of the No shen. The sorcerer holds the liang-yüan in his hand and recites the ch'ou-yüan incantation. When the incantation is over, a helper burns the liang-yüan and the prayer box, as well as some paper money. The sorcerer sings the *[787] yüan magic words and divines the time when the No shen will go back. He also invokes protection for the peace of the family of the host, the increase of the six animals, and the abundance of the five grains. After the sheng chiao is obtained, the gong and drum are struck, and the sorcerer and the host stand up. The former blows the horn once, then rests it on his wrists, takes the three-step walk, and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After having blown the horn three times, the sorcerer takes off his garment and takes a rest. In the meantime the pork and the mutton /goat meat/ are cut up and placed in 12 bowls and put before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer takes the chiao-tzu, and after uttering the incantation for pledging *[787] with wine, seeks the sheng chiao, after which the ritual terminates.

The twenty-eighth part is Pan T'u-ti /"impersonating the local divinity of the soil"/. The sorcerer, wearing the mask [532] of the local divinity of the soil and holding his patron saint's [522] cane and whip, sings a few phrases in the main hall and then [776] engages in a humorous dialogue. Then he sings out the names of the malignant spirits of the 12 months and /192/ indulges in humorous dialogue with the host. Next he sings out the ranks

/192 cont./

*782 [776] and ages of the nine local divinities who are brothers. After this he announces the name and place of birth of the host, asks the shen to receive the offerings, and also asks for their protection. He then utters the chiao-na, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations, after which he sings the magic words of keng-yang-ch'un. Then he bids the shen farewell, and the ritual terminates.

The twenty-ninth part is Pan P'an-kuan /"impersonating a judge"/. A table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is placed a sheng of rice with several coins on it. There are also set out two cups of wine, two bowls of meat, a trayful of salted peppers, and a pot of wine. The sorcerer wears the [537] mask of a judge, a red garment, and a red kerchief around the head, and holds a spear in his right hand as a pen, and in his left hand a cash account book as well as a ling-p'ai /spirit tablet/. He walks in a semicircle outside the door, singing out the reason for going to the No hall. As he walks into the house, he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. He asks [527] to see the host and engages him in some humorous dialogue; he congratulates him and asks him to take part in the worship of the No shen. At the same time the gong and drum are sounded, and the sorcerer takes his place behind the table with his back toward the Peach Spring cave. On the right and the left of the table sit two other men, and the host sits before the table, facing the judge. The sorcerer sings, and the two men and the host sing in response. Wine is poured for the host to drink while good luck words are sung. He drinks four times while four passages are sung. After this, the host leaves the table. Then he performs the act of filing a petition, which is [522] purposely made full of jokes, which the sorcerer refutes. At last the purpose of the petition is given to be the fulfilling of a vow to the No shen. The sorcerer then opens up the cash account book and begins to read, carrying on at the same time a dialogue with the helpers. Now and then he makes a sign in the book with red ink and writes the character huan /"paid"/

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

/60 cont./

befits their sex. The doll, for example, is fed in the same manner as the mother /61/ is seen feeding the younger siblings at meals. These same meals are prepared for the dolls. The returning "hunters" are served liquor, and the world of the adults is incorporated in the play activity. The most popular games, however, are the "ball game" and the "laying out of a rice field," in which all the procedures, from the clearing away of the trees to the burning, from planting to harvesting, are carefully imitated.

Differences in the games according to age groups or sex cannot be established among either the Akha or Meau, because all age levels and both sexes play these games together. It can be said, however, that technical games are played only by the boys. To be sure, it never occurs to them to build a water wheel, but they are very skilled at making small traps, with which they catch smaller animals, such as birds, lizards, and the like. In only one instance did I see an Akha boy, about eight years of age, with a small windmill.

The children look for materials for their toys in their environment and therefore use stones, sand, loam, clay, bark, wood, grasses, and bast (Ill. 16).[1] They work with this material and use it to make their toys. In this manner they turn out representations of small houses, animals, human beings, implements, weapons, and the like in play. Among small children the representation is not very true to life, but beginning with the sixth year the characteristic features are gradually brought out more. Boys at the age of eight are already able to model quite realistically in clay, and even riders on horseback are clearly recognizable. The Meau children dress their clay dolls in palm-leaf skirts, to indicate the pleated skirts; in place of the turban small colorful pieces of cloth are used. In accordance with their own attire, Akha girls equip their dolls with a "girl's bonnet" made of leaves.

1 [See cat. 116, p 88 - ANALYST]

/61 cont./

In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67)[1]. I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such, I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [Sec cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/83 cont./

A M 857 [534 [538 may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, however, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M 533 M [868 [535 The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A 535 857 868 It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A M 532 Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

[1] [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--125 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/84 cont./

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Pictorial representations are also foreign to both peoples. Though the children had never before seen pictorial representations, at the age of three or four they recognized drawings and photographs that I showed them, provided, of course, the representation was within their range of conception. Archers with crossbows or pictures of work in the fields or of the slaughtering of pigs immediately aroused their attention, and they tried to imitate the scene portrayed or the position, for instance, of the crossbow-archer. /85/ When I showed them pictures of European settlements and houses, however, I was immediately assailed with questions: "What is this? Why do you live in such houses? What do you eat? Are there as many children among you? Are they as white as you?" If I showed a child a photograph in which he himself was represented amidst his comrades, he recognized his companions immediately, but only in exceptional cases himself. On the other hand pubescent girls or boys sometimes did find themselves in the pictures. At any rate, the old idea that such children do not recognize pictures or drawings was refuted time and again.

In order to test their drawing ability, I had children of both sexes and of all age levels make drawings. I gave the one to be tested paper and pencil and left him alone for an hour (Ill. 67).[1] The choice of subject was completely free. I prevented any influence from a third party and gained an insight into the mind of the child being tested. I have discussed the results of these experiments in detail in a special study (1) dealing

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1. Bernatzik, VII.

with the drawings collected by me among various primitive peoples. In this present work it can merely be said that the boys of the Meau, as well as of the Akha, began to outgrow the scribbling stage at the age of ten, while at the age of fifteen or sixteen almost all the subjects tested were able to draw true to life. In each case I immediately afterwards wrote down the explanations given by the person tested. Sometimes I confronted a child days later with the drawing and asked him

[1] [See cat 116, P511 - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/85 cont./

A M 125 532 145 once more what he had represented. In all cases it turned out that the children remembered and repeated their first explanations, in other words, that they recognized what they had drawn.

The boys of both peoples do not draw designs, but figures exclusively; animals, plants, and hunting scenes, besides human representations, are predominant. While the Akha boys reach only a low level of development, it is significantly higher among the Meau. Moreover, there was a surprising similarity in the execution as well as in the choice of subject matter between the drawings of the Meau children and the drawings collected by me from Lapp children of the same age. In the case of the Akha drawings, /86/ however, this similarity was generally absent. In contrast to the Akha, there is furthermore among the Meau a strong factor of individual talent, which differs in the two sexes. The Meau girls are much more gifted than the boys, whereas among the Akha the achievements of the two sexes are fairly equal.

A M 125 531 532 145 As far as the girls are concerned, among the Meau they begin at the age of ten to draw ornamental designs; slightly older children contributed figure drawings and when somewhat older still, drew true to life. Thus, besides the ornamental designs, they also had a very good mastery of figures. Beginning at the age of seventeen figure drawing decreases among almost all the female persons tested among the Meau, and pattern drawing predominates. This is because the girls have a great deal to do with batik, and this work dominates their thinking. Even later, however, they have a technical mastery of figure-representation at a higher level of development, as was proved to me by the example of a woman who had seen drawings of the Lao and was immediately able to reproduce similar drawings from memory. The girls of the Akha showed considerably less talent. Most of them never went beyond the scribbling stage, and individual talent is little developed.

/86 cont./

A M 145 125 532 [153] The self-criticism that the children exhibit even at an early age was surprising. Some Akha children about ten years old repeatedly refused to draw because "their lines did not look like the things they wanted to draw." In contrast, the really primitive people, the Phi Tong Luang (1), behaved quite

1. Bernatzik, IV, pp. 174 ff.

differently. Here even the adults scribbled for hours and then explained to me circumstantially what the lines, which in no instance went beyond the scribbling stage, were supposed to mean.

In conclusion it should be said that neither among the Meau nor the Akha did the talent for drawing disappear at a certain age, as we often find among European children (see also the chapter, "Art," the section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation," and the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

/87/ d) Sexual Development

A M 836 Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, unmarried young people enjoy extensive sexual freedom, which is documented by other authors for the Meau of other regions as well (1).

1. Eberhard II, pp. 253, 255, 256, 258, 261; also Chin. Repos., 14, p. 110.

M 864 [513] The children of the Meau, separated according to sex, sleep in their own sleeping quarters or at least in their own beds; only the small children sleep with their mothers. They therefore have no opportunity to gather experience by observing the adults. If they occasionally ask questions of a sexual nature, the adults answer truthfully, provided that the children are somewhat bigger. Small children, however, are

M [825]

39: Bernatzik--174 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Chapter 8

Art

a) Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation

531/ [532] The Meau know neither sculpture nor painting. They do, however, have a marked gift for ornamental representation, which is shown especially in the ornamentation of their clothing. The skirts of the women and girls are provided with stylized plant designs, usually floral motifs (Ill. 61 and 86).[1] The diversity of these designs is extraordinary. On one woman's skirt alone I counted 22 different designs, not including the rich border ornamentation. I offer the drawings in Fig. 8 to Fig. 13 as examples of these floral designs. Figures 8, 9, 10, and Fig. 11 show the designs in the positive, that is to say, they show how the design-drawing actually appears on the skirt after the wax coating has been boiled off; Figures 12 and 13, on the other hand, represent the rough drawings which are put on the fabric with wax prior to the dyeing. The batik technique will be described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

The embroidery and appliqué work put on the clothing (see Colored Plates II, III, and IV,[2] as well as the detailed description in the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") show astonishingly great imagination and feeling for ornamentation and color composition. Geometric forms, as well as stylized animal motifs, such as snails, are popularly used in this work, whereas figure representations are entirely absent. /125/ /Fig. 8 appears here./

[532] That, aside from the purely ornamental, there is a feeling among the Meau for figure representation can clearly be seen in the children's drawings made upon my suggestion, even though these drawings primarily reveal the talent of the women for the ornamental. Moreover, a marked individual talent is shown, as has already been pointed out in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section "Mental Development." Among [554] the women, for instance, there are always some who enjoy special prestige as designers of beautiful batik patterns. Even

1 [See cat 116, pp 449 and 620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 240-241, 437, 563 - "]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into M [778] [782] [413] which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of M [532] [114] Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood sculpture.

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though not universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to A [831] nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").

A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

1 [See cat 116, p 120 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/129 cont./

M 325 [531] [301] [177] A [301] [531]

The silver ornaments of the Meau (chapter on "Clothing and /130/ Ornaments," Fig. 211 to Fig. 227), as well as those of the Akha (Fig. 239 to Fig. 253 of the same chapter), are sometimes decorated with attractive incised designs. The chasing technique by means of which spiral designs /Fig. 15 appears here/ are produced on the silver scabbards for daggers (Fig. 15) and the embossing technique occasionally used on bracelets may have been borrowed from the Thai peoples, but the fact remains that the Meau silversmiths are quite able to compete with the Thai ornaments in beauty of workmanship, even though the Meau men practice these difficult techniques just as casually as even the most famous women produce their batik designs.

A [531] [270]

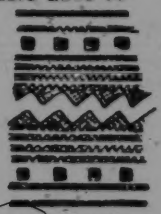

Fig. 14. Incised decoration on girl's pipe of the Akha. 2/1 nat. size.

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For test purposes, as has been mentioned, I had drawings made by both sexes. In the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children," I have described the guiding principles that I followed in this. These drawings provided an interesting insight into the drawing talents of the Akha as well as of the Meau.

In all the drawings, with the possible exception of Fig. 18, the complete lack of composition is striking. Only individual objects, animals, plants, or little scenes from daily /131/ life are ever represented. As a result many drawings are upside down or sideways. Usually one cannot determine by himself where the artist actually imagined the top or the bottom of the sheet to be. Actually, they focused their attention exclusively on that part of the drawing on which they were working at the moment. As soon as this was finished, the sheet was turned so that an adjacent free area of the sheet could be comfortably worked on, regardless of the position of the last drawing.

Akha as well as Meau men showed a special preference for representations of animals of the hunt and domestic animals; in addition, implements, weapons, and occasionally scenes

39: Bernatzik--181 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5
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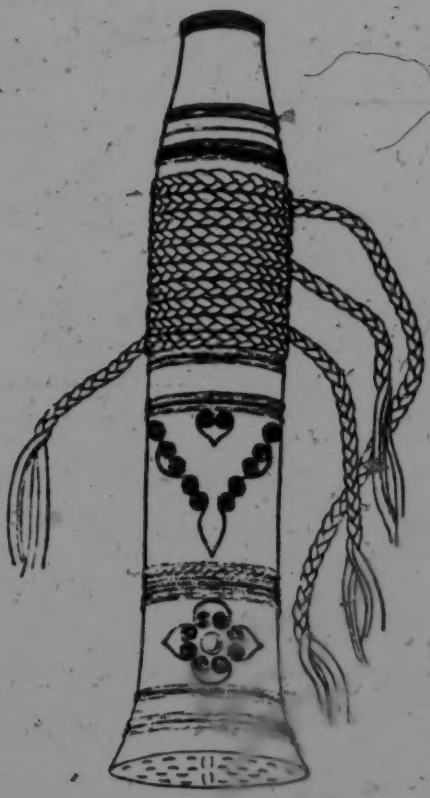

Fig. 15. Silver scabbard of the Meau, with spiral design in chase technique. 1/2 nat. size.

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from everyday life were portrayed (Figs. 16, 17, 20, and 21). No difference in the talents of the two peoples in this respect was discovered so far as the men were concerned. Accordingly, in the performance of the men of both peoples the decorative fell behind the figurative. On the other hand, the higher development found among the Meau boys (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children") is also found among the adults.

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Miao AE5

/131 cont./

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The situation was different among the women. The Meau women were by far the best at drawing, much better than the men of their tribe. The decorative element was always predominant, probably because the drawing of ornamental designs, as has been mentioned, is practiced from childhood in the batik work. Individual women also drew animals and plants, but even these representations were usually decoratively stylized, often with an actually artistic verve (Fig. 19). More frequently, however, a rigid adherence to a design was definitely imposed upon the plant and animal representations (Fig. 18). Even in these cases, however, it could not be denied that there was "good taste" in our sense. It was otherwise among the Akha women. The content of their representations often included animals, besides objects from daily life. Their drawing talent, however, was far below that of the men of this tribe. In many cases they did not achieve any likeness at all. The individual talent shown by the Akha men and strongly pronounced among the Meau of both sexes, as was mentioned, was very slightly developed.

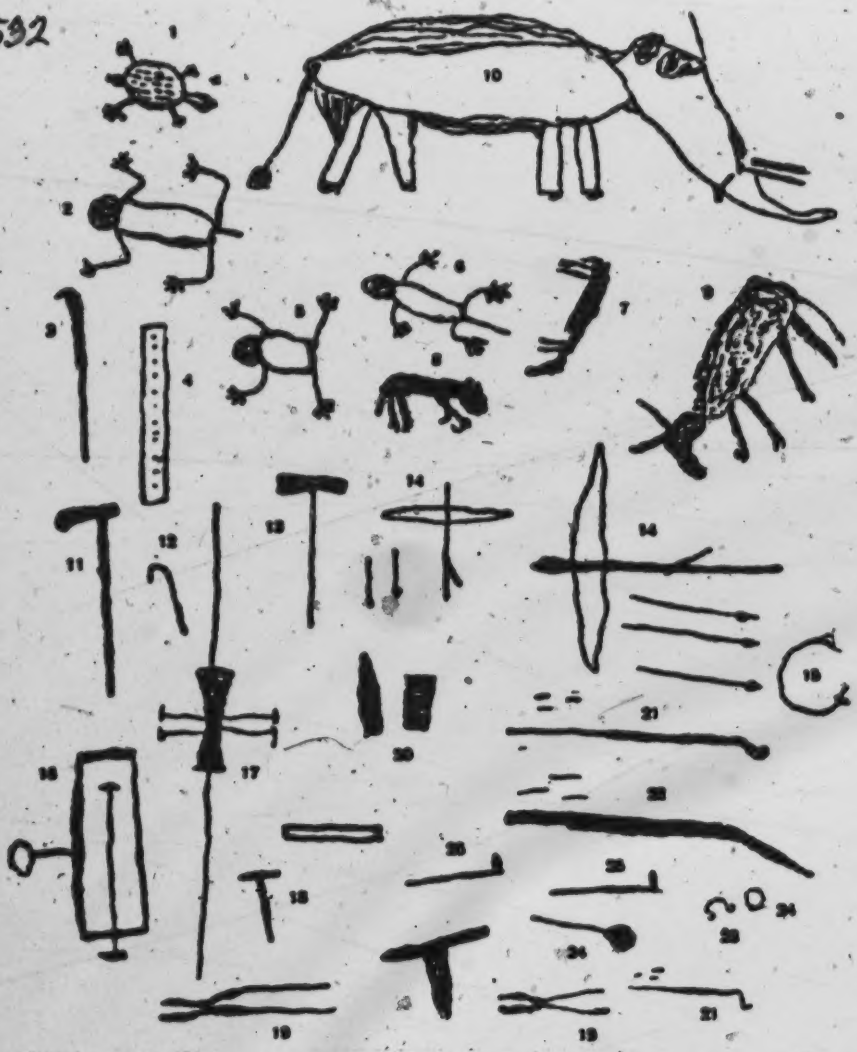

Fig. 16. (Captions on following page.)
Drawings of the Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, age 45. The chief is an excellent smith, hunter, and gunmaker.

/132 cont./

Caption for Fig. 16 on preceding page.

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List of the objects represented: 1 = turtle, 2 = short-tailed monkey, 3 = jungle knife, 4 = smelting form for casting silver, 5 = gibbon, 6 = short-tailed monkey, 7 = horse, 8 = pig, 9 = deer, 10 = elephant, 11 = ax, 12 = sickle for cutting rice, 13 = drill, 14 = crossbow with two arrows, 15 = necklace, 16 = bellows, 17 = drill for boring gun barrels, 18 = hammer, 19 = blacksmith's tongs, 20 = two different anvils, 21 = flint-lock gun for children, with ammunition, 22 = elephant gun of the chief, with ammunition, 23 = necklace with charms for children, 24 = fire fan, 25 = axes.

/133/

Caption for Fig. 17 on p. 185.

List of the objects represented: 1 = people writing letters (the informant had observed my wife and me at work), 2 = a dwelling, 3 = chickens in the chicken coop, 4 = horse, 5 = Argus pheasant, 6 = cow, 7 = rooster, 8 = tree leaves, 9 = peacock, 10 = self-portrait of the artist, who depicts how he fells a tree, 11 = men with axes on their way to fell a tree, 12 = sickle for cutting rice, 13 = man with axes.

39: Bernatzik--185 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5
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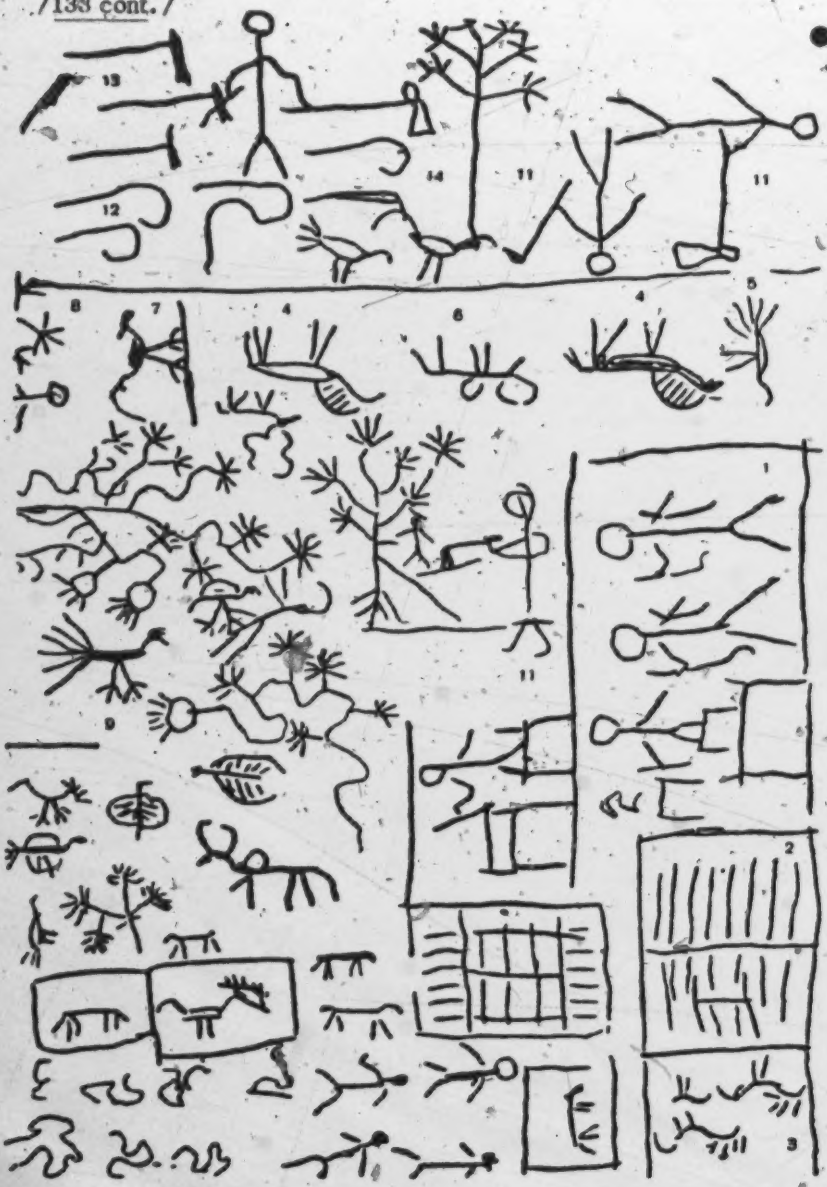

Fig. 17. Drawings of the Meau man, Yǎń wū, about 50 years of age. (Captions on p. 184.)

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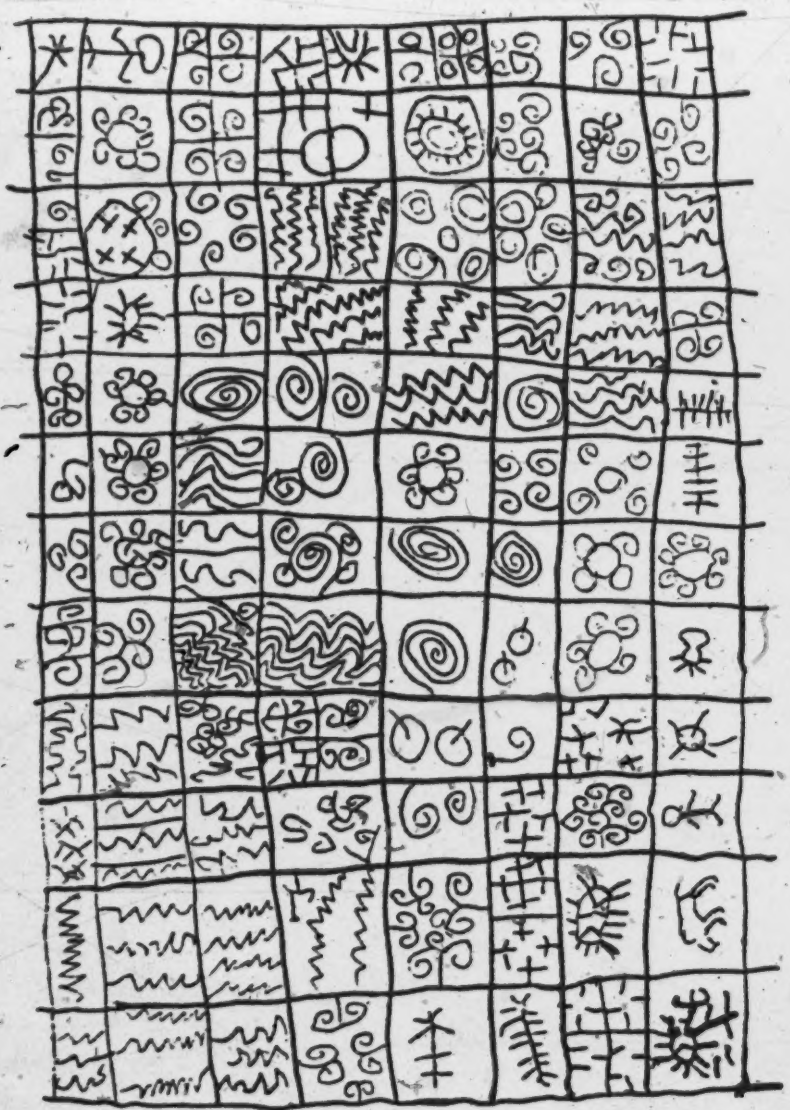

Fig. 18. Drawings of the Meau woman, Wǎn lǎ pǎu, about 38 years of age, the mother of nine living children. Only various fabric designs and decorations such as the woman is accustomed to making in batik work were depicted.

39: Bernatzik--187 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
MiaoAE5
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Fig. 19. Drawings made by the Meau girl, Ntsáy wǎn, about 15 years of age. List of the objects represented: 1 = mother with child at her breast, 2 and 3 = a woman with a stick beating a dog stealing from the pigs' feed, 4 = falling tree, 5 = tree with crown and roots, 6 = blossoms from a tree falling to the ground after blooming, 7 = a woman with a child on her back husking rice, a second woman pours in more rice.

(continued)

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Fig. 19 (cont.)
8 and 8a = a woman fetches green vegetables from her kitchen garden; in the garden the poppies bloom, 9 = two wild cocks are sitting on a tree in the jungle fighting each other, 10 = fan-palm, 11 = monkey climbing a tree and being shot at by a man with the crossbow, 12 = two Argus pheasants devour a snake, 13 = design for a woman's collar, 14 = patterned apron-band.

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Caption for Fig. 20. p. 189.

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List of the objects represented:
1 = monkey on a tree, 2 = goat, 3 = a Thailand policeman, 4 = pig, 5 = deer, 6 = snake, 7 = calabash bowl, 8 = butterfly, 9 = wild boar with strong weapons, 10 = a sow, 11 = plaited work, 12 = cat, 13 = spider, 14 = an automobile (the artist had once seen such a vehicle in the town of Tschiengmai), 15 = wild goat, 16 = millepede, 17 = fresh-water shrimp, 18 = the artist says he forgot what he had drawn, 19 = wood louse, 20 = bird.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/151 cont./

A M 535 [883] [887] [532] the Akha and Meau. Old people of either sex do not dance under any circumstances, whether or not they are now widowed or unmarried. I have already discussed the participation of children at the dance entertainments in the sections, "Art in the Life of the Children" and "Sexual Development," in the chapter, "Life in the Community." Masks and masked dances are unfamiliar to both peoples.

A 123 535 609 Although the Akha are strictly endogamous, it is said, as my interpreter maintained, that on rare occasions they do not object to the participation of guests in their dances. I wanted to verify this statement, however, and suggested to my wife that she make an attempt to dance with the Akha women when the opportunity arose. On one of the following evenings my wife stepped into the circle of dancers. At first no one wanted to take her hand; a few even fled into the forest. Then my wife promptly seized by the hands two of the women taking flight, pulled them back to the dancing place, and soon all had lost their shyness before her, and even those who had fled returned. Two of the older girls then took my wife into the circle and taught her the dance steps. This visibly broke the ice. They found the khaki trousers and blouse of my wife abominable, but my wife had to confess that she had no festive garb. Nothing could be simpler! They gladly wanted to help her out with their clothing. Of course these garments of the Akha, among whom my wife looked like a giantess, did not fit at all. To be sure, /152/ nothing could be done, but the girls at least decked out my wife with ornaments and chains of beads made of dried fruits, and they were not satisfied until she was adorned with a great number of these chains, and then they all laughingly began to dance. All this had taken place without any ill-humor at all, and from this day on the Akha women, who before that had been very distrustful, lost all their shyness before us, which greatly facilitated our investigations.

A 123 535 [541] [1177] To be sure, among the Akha, too, there may be a dance to honor someone, or the festively adorned dancers may invite him to accompany them to the dancing place, but even with all the good understanding we had not counted on belonging to this select group. One evening, however, it was about nine o'clock and we were already in our beds in the tent, when shots

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535 [788] [783] [562] The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward [177] dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

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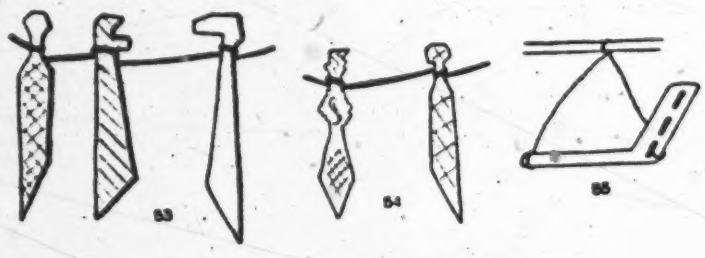


Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 571 [881] [782] Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, say, a joining together of the young people at the time of initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

532 778 [779] The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

/480 cont./
cultural elements drawn upon for proof are too few in number
174 and moreover in large part not characteristic for the Meau, and
[114] are often to be regarded as environmentally conditioned.

It is an interesting question whether the Meau may be classed in the circle of those peoples whose very ancient cultures are brought into relief from their surroundings by, among other things, megaliths, certain forms of animal sacrifice, and head-hunting. It is well-known that this culture is still alive today among the Naga and wild Wa and their neighbors. Relics in many places in Farther India, Hindustan, Indonesia, and beyond into the South Seas and traces in northwestern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East show that its spread must have been far greater in former times. -- I myself was able to identify the so-called "Moi peoples" of Indochina as belonging to this group, as I shall report in detail in another place. Judging by the available facts, there can be no doubt that the Meau do not belong to this cultural complex, even if the /481/ classification of the Meau language with the Mon-Khmer languages (see the chapter, "Language"), which is absolutely erroneous in my opinion, should be proved correct.

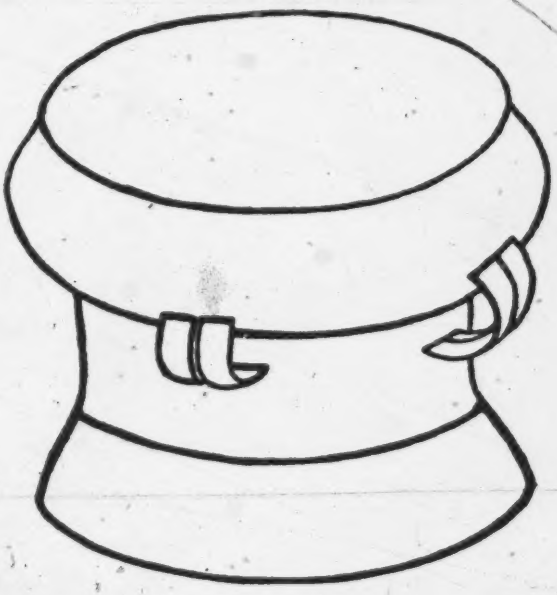
[325] For the question of the origin of the culture of the Meau, a bronze drum allegedly made by the Meau and cast by dead mold, which is in the possession of the ethnographic museum in Vienna and has not yet been described up to now,* is of special

* During the printing of the present work, a few statements about this drum by F. M. Schnitger appeared in the Archiv für Anthropologie, 1943, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

[534] significance. The shape of the drum is shown in Figures 423 and 424. The diameter of the striking surface is 70.5 centimeters. The drum is hollow, open at the bottom, and four bronze handles are attached to the side walls. It belongs to the group of bronze drums that Heger discussed in his work, Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien /Old Metal Drums from
[532] Southeast Asia/. /Fig. 423 appears here./ /482/ The drum

/482 cont./

174 surface (Fig. 424) shows in the center a sun with twelve rays,
●532 around which several circles with various decorations, such as wedge patterns, rings, meanders, and rows of dots, seal it off. Then follows a band, about five centimeters wide, with representations /Fig. 424 appears here/ /483/ of human beings, houses, and various scenes. Two houses have a boat-shaped roof, the ends of which are ornamented with birds' heads. Similar houses are still found even today in various parts of Indonesia, New Guinea, etc. Above each roof stands a peacock. In one



[534]

Fig. 423. Sketch of the bronze drum, viewed obliquely from above, about 1/10 nat. size.

of the houses one can see mouth-organ players, in the other probably women preparing a meal. Beside each house there are two drums, each resting on a frame, /Fig. 425 appears here/ which are beaten with long drumsticks. These drums have the same shape as the very bronze drum being described here. Between the houses armed men with large feather crowns

39: Bernatzik--653 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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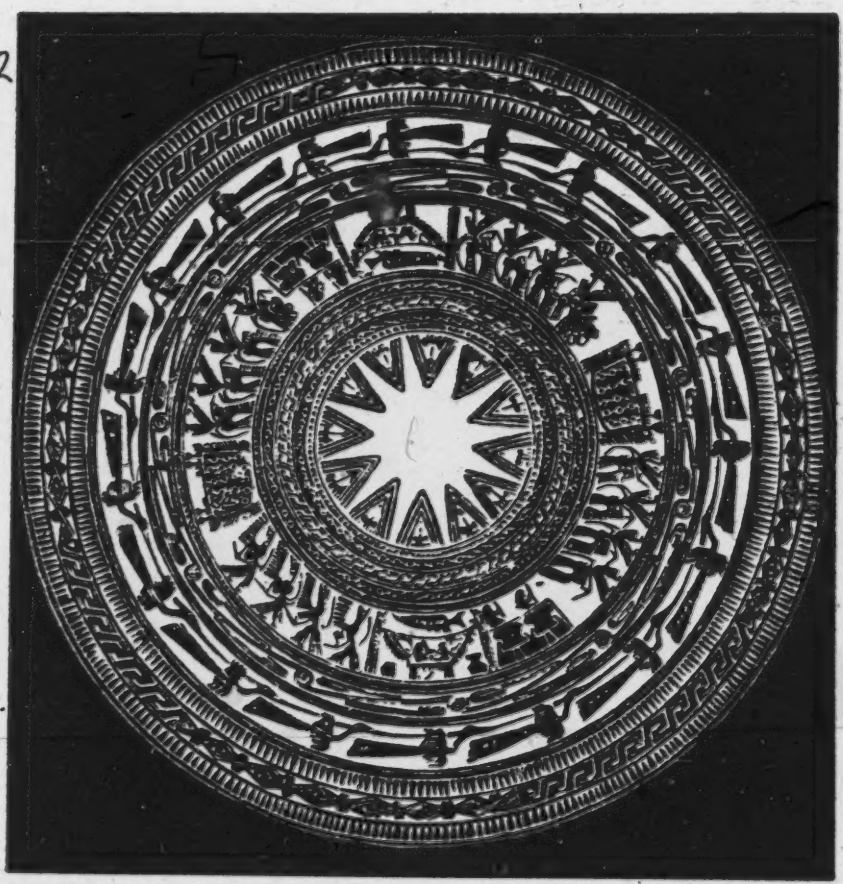

Fig. 424. A copy, faithful to the original, of the striking surface of a bronze drum from the region of Kaihwa (southeast Yunnan). Throughout centuries it is supposed to have been in the possession of the family of a Meau chief, which, according to its own tradition, brought it along from south of Kweichow. Now in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna.

39: Bernatzik--654 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/483 cont./

on their heads are dancing. The representation of their clothing reminds one of the festive clothing made of palm leaves, as they are worn to this day by some /484/ Naga and Dajak /Dyak/ tribes at their head-hunter celebrations. A man with

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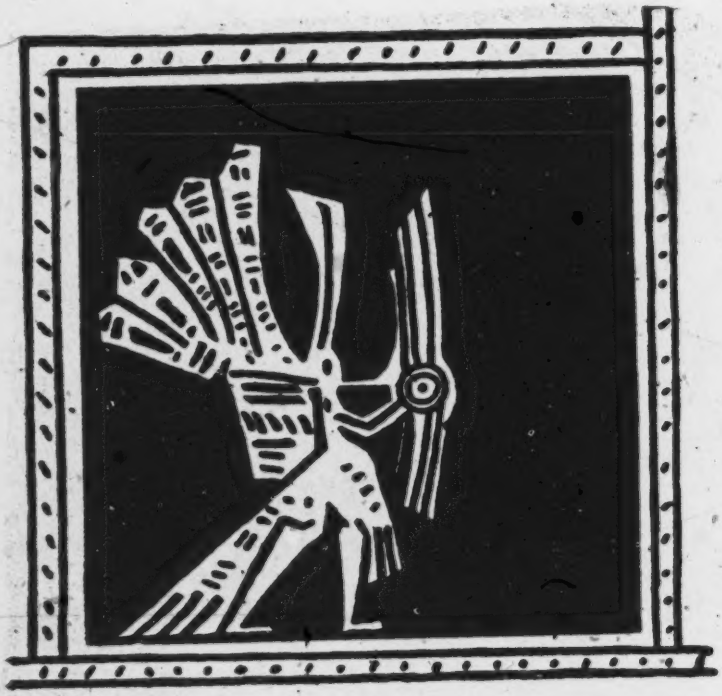

Fig. 425. Representation of a Mouth-organ Player with a Feather Crown. He is presumably clothed in a cloak of batiked bark-cloth. Natural size.

a crown, which presumably is made of argus-pheasant feathers, is blowing on a mouth organ (Fig. 425).

After this series of decorations there follows a representation of stylized birds, presumably flying herons arranged in the circle (Fig. 426).

On the outer surface of the drum, too, figurate representations are found. Especially striking here are four boats whose bows and sterns are clearly visible (Fig. 428). From a comparison with

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174 ●532 the sacral temple-boats still in use today on the Nan River in northeastern Thailand (Fig. 427), we can but assume that the bow is provided with a dragon's head and the stern with a dragon's tail /Fig. 426 appears here/ the latter presumably decorated with a flag. Rowers wearing feather crowns make up the crew of the boat. In each of two boats a person is sitting on a stool (Fig. 428); presumably this is a matter of shamans. Representations of sitting herons are put in between the boats. Eight reliefs, which represent warriors adorned with large feather crowns, form the lower edge of the drum. Among them a mouth-organ player

Fig. 426. Probably the representation of sitting herons, on the outer surface of the drum.
A copy true to nature, somewhat over 1/2 nat. size.

is clearly recognizable (Fig. 425). Several dancers hold a shield, two are swinging an ax (Fig. 429), and two others are holding a pear-shaped object in their hands (Fig. 430), which one could regard as a head-hunter's trophy. These men are adorned with large birds' heads looking backwards.

Taken as a whole, it is surely a matter of an over-all representation of a great celebration; it may be left undecided whether a celebration for the dead, a New Year's festival, a head-hunters' ceremony, or something similar is meant by it. The /485/ /Fig. 427 and 428 appear here/ affiliation of the producer with the culture complex of the megalith producer and head-hunter is probable in view of the cultural elements depicted. A precise treatment of this drum from an

39: Bernatzik--656 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Fig. 427. Sacral temple-boat, about 20 meters long, of the Lao on the Nan River in northeastern Thailand. A dragon's head is set on the bow of the boat; the rear stem carved out of wood, is decorated with a flag. Only the part of the boat projecting out of the water is visible. Pen drawing from a photograph.

Fig. 428.

Fig. 428. Representation of a boat on the outer convex surface of the bronze drum. Human beings with feather crowns are rowing the boat, whose front part seems to end in a dragon's head. A figure sitting on a seat in front of the helmsman, perhaps a female shaman. About 1/2 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--657 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5
Kachin AP6

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/485 cont./ ethnological point of view is reserved for a work by F. M. Schnitger. What interests us in this connection is whether it is actually a matter of a Meau drum and whether the persons and scenes depicted are derived from cultural possessions of the Meau, as Schnitger assumes and as seems to follow from the tradition of the family from which the drum was acquired. The clothing of the women depicted is vaguely recognizable, but in no way resembles the present-day attire of the Meau women, which, as is apparent from some of the Chinese sources, /486/ has scarcely changed for thousands of years. Similarly the clothing of the dancers represented and especially the feather crowns do not in any way remind one of the present-day clothing of the Meau men. To be sure, it should be noted here that the present-day clothing of the men, such as the wearing of turbans, is presumably not autochthonous for the mountain peoples of this area. /Fig. 429 appears here./ It has not been incontestably determined how the head-covering looked in former times. In representations in the "albums," other head-coverings can occasionally be recognized, to be sure, and Bridgman (1), too, on the basis of such Chinese representations

1. Pages 260, 261, 265, 268 ff.

expressly mentions /487/ feather crowns as customary head-adornment among various Meau tribes, but doubtlessly all such drawings originated later, and moreover the possibility of confusion with members of another "barbarian" tribe is never to be excluded. /Fig. 430 appears here./

The following facts, however, may be of significance under these circumstances: Among the Katschin /Kachin/ west of Kengtung, a people who, as is known, like the Meau, come from similar living spaces and who find themselves in the midst of a similar migratory movement, the men now wear turbans, just like the Meau. On the occasion of the performance /488/ of the ancient sword-dances, however, the leaders of the Katschin wore splendid ancient ceremonial costumes and mighty feather crowns made of argus pheasant and peacock feathers (Fig. 431).

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39: Bernatzik--658 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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(Fig. 431). I have already published an over-all scene of this dance in another place (Bernatzik (1)). These ceremonial garbs

1. IV, Ill. 75.

Fig. 429. Representation of a dancer with feather crown and shield on the outer surface of the drum. In one hand the dancer carries a pear-shaped object, which might be regarded as a head-hunter's trophy. Copy true to nature, 11/10 nat. size.

permit one to conclude that such feather crowns were formerly also used among other mountain peoples of the latest wave of migration, to which the Katschin as well as the Meau belong. /Fig. 431 appears here./

/488 cont./

The present absence of the feather crowns among the Meau is thus no proof that the feather crowns depicted on the drum were nevertheless not originally part of the cultural possessions of the Meau. 174 532

Among the cultural elements of the Meau recorded by me, there is no indication that the pictures on the drum

Fig. 430. Representation of a dancer with ax, shield, and feather crown on the outer surface of the drum. Copy true to nature, 11/10 nat. size.

have anything to do with the Meau. Rather, the custom of preserving the heads or at least parts of the hunting booty or of sacrificed animals, or /489/ any kind of references to headhunting, as well as the kind of animal sacrifice characteristic of the Meau, point to the opposite.

Miao AE5
Kachin AP6

/489 cont./

Thus, almost all of the elements represented on the drum are not to be perceived as autochthonous cultural possessions of the Meau. Only the mouth organ could be designated as a Meau element. It, however, is much too widespread among other peoples to appear alone as valid proof.

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Finally, if one considers the fact that the Meau have always been a mountain people that has at most

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Fig. 431. Crown of Feathers from Argus Pheasants.

It is worn by leaders of the Katschin /Kachin/ dancers in a village west of the Kengtung market and is part of a sacral festive costume, which is still preserved only in places.

Pen drawing from a photograph.

occasionally navigated mountain rivers, he will find neither the representation of the many boats on the drum nor the association of boats with the cult explicable. The positively startling similarity between these boats and the sacral temple-boats (Fig. 427) of the Lao, one of the Thai peoples, is another indication that this

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174 cannot have anything to do with the Meau.

532 Furthermore, we come to the question of whether mountain peoples with a relatively lower culture, like the Meau, are to be credited at all with the production of such works of art [325] as these drums represent. If one considers the perfect casting and above all the ornamentation and plastic representation so well executed technically, this appears most improbable, quite apart from the fact that I could find no indications of any kind among the Meau that the technique of casting by dead form had been familiar to them at any time in their history. I would far rather speak of this work of art as the flowering of a high culture. Under these circumstances, and especially in view of the boats depicted, Von Eickstedt's conjecture, expressed orally to me, that a Thai people may have been involved as the original producer, is not to be rejected. Also the fact that the original homeland of several Thai peoples is to be sought not far from the region in which the Meau drum, according to its previous owners, was originally used at least does not argue against it.

174 To be sure, it is possible that the Meau, who, as their history leads one to suspect, had formerly developed a high culture or at least the beginnings of one, were checked in their development by martial events and oppressions following them, and their culture was subjected to a shrinking process. That a cultural atrophy of considerable proportions actually must have taken place /490/ can be verified by the far more primitive material culture in comparison with the spiritual culture. Even though it has still never been proved that such drums were made by the Meau, it is indeed theoretically possible, their great absolute antiquity being established, that they come from the cultural golden age of the Meau. The frequent statements in the literature to the effect that the Meau did beat bronze drums on various cultic occasions (Heger (1), Nan-chao (2) seem also

1. Pages 235 ff.

2. Pages 187 ff.